

THE
Thirteenth Chapter
TO THE
ROMANS,

Vindicated from the
Abusive Senses put upon it.

Written by a Curate of SALOP;
supposed to be Dr. Fleetwood Bp of Ely.
And directed to the Clergy of that County,
and the Neighbouring Ones of North-
Wales; To whom the Author wisheth
Patience, Moderation, and a Good Un-
derstanding for Half an Hour.

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MY Business having drawn me up to *London* in the Winter, I had the Opportunity of Hearing the *Trial* of the Famous Doctor, from the Beginning to the End: and was thereby inform'd of abundance of Things, of which I was before ignorant; and enabled, as I thought, to set you right also, and to correct a great many Mistakes, into which I found we had all of us been led. When I first came to *Town*, it was between the Preaching of his Sermon, and his being *Impeach'd* for it: and I believe, I may safely affirm, there was not Ten Men of Sense and Character, in all the *City*, but did absolutely condemn that Discourse, as a Rhapsody of incoherent ill-digested Thoughts, dress'd in the worst Language that could be found. They said it became not a *Minister* of the Gospel, for the Spirit with which it was compos'd; nor a *Doctor*, for the Argumentative Part of it; nor a tolerable *Englishman*, for the Style and Expression. In a word; neither the *Matter*, nor the *Manner* of the *Sermon* pleas'd any one. This, I am sure, was then the untainted Judgment of the *Town*. The Man was thoroughly despis'd, both by his Friends, and Enemies, for this Performance. Upon the *Impeachment* indeed Matters were much changed, and the Sermon mended strangely. The *High-Church* Party took the *Sermon* and the *Preacher* into their Protection, and made his Cause their own; not changing their Opinion, nor valuing either at the Price of a Pin, but making it a Handle and Occasion of bringing their lost and abandon'd Cause into Countenance again, and of playing their Game anew with more Advantage. They gain'd at first on the devout and honourable Women,

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who whisper'd back to them, That if they had the Courage to resume the Posts they had been lately driven from, there never was an Opportunity more favourable than now: I may not tell you abundance of Things that I then heard from good Hands; We quickly saw how the Cause thriv'd in its Management, and what Arts were used to make weak People believe, *the Church was endanger'd* in that Trial, and Tried together with her Champion: This was then the Talk of credulous Women, shallow Men, and of young Preachers, and of many of my Countrymen and Sir J. Pa—on. *Fellow Curates*; from whom, I doubt not, our Neighbour stole the Thought, and put it into his elegant Address. Whereas to Me, the Church appear'd to be no more concern'd in this Dispute, than the Mountain, at whose Bottom my House stands. The Dispute, I plainly saw, was who should have the good Places, the profitable Posts, and Offices of Honour. The Peace was then in View, and both Sides began to bestir themselves; the One to keep the Seats they were already in, the Other to remove them, and place their Betters in; imagining, that as Things settled at the Peace, there they would fix and continue. But let them settle where they will, the Church, I dare engage, will be no whit the better, unless we will account that half a score Seditious, Bold Incendiaries, are the Church. These indeed will be Gainers, as you will shortly see; and that will be all the Advantage the Church will get by this warm Controversy.

There is nothing so conceited as a Man that has lately been at London, and let into some Secret History, and kept Company for an Hour or two, with some Great Folks above his Quality. This, I own, was my Condition, and I believed that as soon as I should get down into the Country, I should carry all before me, and quickly convince you, that you had wrong Notions of Things, understood very little of the Springs of publick Affairs, and were carried away into a Thousand Errors. That you are still as blind as

Boles, I am very sure; but that you are capable of being convinced, and set right in any of these *Matters*, is what I now doubt very much; since I have seen you so unanimous in affirming the Doctor to be a *Man of Parts*, and great *Defender of the Church*, and that the *Churches Interest* and *His* were inseparable, and that all who were against him, were *Enemies to the Church*, with a great many such like foolish and absurd Propositions. When I saw this, I easily forgave your counting *Six* to be more than *Seven*, and *Fifty Two* to be as many again as *Sixty Nine*: These I thought might better be maintained, (by opposing *Weight* to *Number*) than the other, which betrays such a Defect of Judgment, as is not to be rectified or remedied. But that which gave me most trouble, in all our Bickerings, was, methoughts, that obstinate, vexatious Citation of *The 13th Chap. to the Romans*, which was thrown at my Head upon all Occasions. I could not mention the *Revolution*, *K. William*, the *H. of C-----*, *Liberties of the Subject*, nor any thing like them, but presently I was desired to look into the *13th Chap. to the Romans*. I no sooner urged that Sir *S. H.* and all the Doctor's Council had defended the *Revolution* and the *Resistance* that brought it about, as strenuously and openly, and in as plain Terms, as the *Managers* themselves had done, and that the present Archbishop of *T.* had given up all that they contended for, in making the *Laws of the Land* the *Measure of the Subjects Submission and Obedience*; as good *K. Charles the I.* had own'd the *Law to be the Measure of his Power*, in His Declaration from *New-Market*, *March 9. 1641.* I had, I say, no sooner urged these things, and others to the like Purpose, but that a *Bible* was brought, which opened of it self at the *13th Chap. to the Romans*, and I was bid to see what I could make of it. This, as I was a *Curate*, gave me more Concern than all you said besides, and so I resolved to see and read that Chapter through and through, and give you my Thoughts of it; which I now send you in *Print*, for the Edification of my Country,

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and good Neighbours. It cost me the more Pains because I was to spin it (as it were) out of my own Brains, not being allowed, as it should seem, to consult any *Commentators*, either of the *Popish* or the *Protestant Party* abroad; since I was every Day told, that *the Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance*, was a *Doctrine Peculiar to the Church of England*. Now altho' a *Doctrine* seldom recommends it self to me by its *Peculiarity*; yet I thought it would be to no purpose to cite either *Protestant* or *Papist*, who would not be believed or trusted in the Matter. And yet, I tell you, it is no little Prejudice to a *Doctrine* of such Importance, to have both *Protestant* and *Popish* Writers favour it so little as they do: Nor is it a little absurd, to say a *Doctrine* is *Peculiar* to a Church, when it pretends to come from *Christ*, to be taught by the *Apostles*, and by all the *Primitive Writers*. I desire, after the Example of other *Great Authors*, that I may first suppose some few Things, as *Postulata*, and then make *Arguments* and *Inferences* from them, in the manner following.

I. I suppose that the *Epistle to the Romans* (of which the 13th Chap. is so notable a Part) tho' immediately directed to the *Christians* of that *Empire*, was yet intended by *St. Paul*, for the Use, Instruction, and Direction of *all the Christians* in the World besides.

II. I suppose that, at what time the 13th Chapter to the *Romans* might be written, there were as many different Governments in the World, as there are at this Day. I will name but Four, 1st, An *Absolute Monarchy*, such as the *Roman Empire* then was, and the *Turkish* one now is: Where the *Will* of the Prince was the *Law*. 2dly, A *limited and mixed Monarchy*, as that of the *Quadi* was of old, and *England* is now thought to be: Where the Prince govern'd by a Body of known *Laws*, made by himself together with a *Chamber of Nobles*, and a *Chamber of Sage and Substantial Persons*, chose out of the *Commonalty*, to represent them. He could make no new *Law* by himself, nor

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could he *abrogate an old one*; nor could he so explain a *doubtful* controverted Passage of a Law, as to make it pass for Law, by his *single Authority*. He had the Power of appointing all such as should execute the Laws. He had also the Power of *the Sword*; he could make *War and Peace*, but he could not of himself, raise any Money, either to pay the *Civil List*, or to pay the *Soldiers*; nor could he appoint his *Successor*. In a word, it was just such another Government, as that of *England* is, under a *King*, a *House of Lords*, and *Commons*. And if any of you doubt, whether the *Quadi* were really and in truth thus governed at that time, I will not refer you to the Writers of those Times for my Justification, but desire only to suppose there *might be* such a Government; which is not unreasonable, because you know there actually *is* such a one, namely, our own of *Great Britain*. 3dly, An *Aristocratical* Government, like that of *Venice*, where the *Senators* truly govern all, but with a *Duke* at their Head, of little *Real*, but of much *Ceremonial* Significancy. 4thly, A *Commonwealth*, like that of the *Seven Provinces*, with a *Stadtholder* for their *Captain General*. These Four Sorts of Government I take leave to suppose there were, or at least *might have been*, when the 13th Chap. to the *Romans* was written.

III. I suppose the 13th Chap. to the *Romans*, made no immediate *Change* of all, or any of these Four Governments; but left them as they found them. Each of them continued, or might have continued, as it stood before *that Chapter* was written; neither of them became more or less lawful, innocent, or convenient, than they were before *St. Paul* appeared: It gave the *Governing Part* of each, no more Power than it had before; nor did it put the *Governed Party* into any worse Estate and Condition.

IV. As the 13th Ch. to the *Rom.* unsettled no Government that was then settled; nor made any manner of Change that we know of: So neither did it settle or fix any Government in such a manner, as to make it

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unlawful for the *Legislative Power* (should it see fit) to change or alter it. An *Absolute Monarch* might, if he had pleased, have condescended to govern by *known Laws*, and might have obliged himself to govern by *no other Laws*; and might have discharged the People from obeying him, whenever he should go about to overthrow those known Laws: And of this he might appoint 12 or more *Great Officers* to be the *Judges*, who should determine, whether such and such Commands, if executed, would overthrow those known Laws; and consequently whether the People were obliged to execute those Orders and Commands. One may suppose the 13th Chap. to the Romans would not hinder this *Arbitrary Prince*, from making these Condescensions, nor from obliging himself to stand to them when made. Neither would the 13th Chapter to the Romans forbid or hinder a *Limited Monarchy* from becoming an *Absolute* one, should all that are concerned freely consent to make it so. In a word, it is but reasonable to think, that every Estate and Government knows its own Defects the best, and best knows how to supply and remedy those Defects, by changing the *Place of Power*, and putting it into proper Hands, in what Degree or Measure it thinks fit, and most conducive to its own Advantage: For all Governments have the *same Authority*; but differ in the *Exercise and Administration* of it.

V. The 13th Chap. to the Romans is therefore a much quieter Chapter than most People imagine. It changed no Government: It settled none unalterably; It made no Freemen *Slaves*; It made no *Slaves Freemen*. It left every Nation to be governed by its own Laws; and if they could mend those Laws, they might: And if they should part with them for worse, it did not forbid them doing so. It bids every *Soul be subject to the Higher Powers*——but it does not tell us, *who those Higher Powers are*: It sends us to the *Laws of the Constitution*, to learn where they are placed. The *Higher Powers* at Rome were not, at that time, the *Emperor*, the *Senate*, and the *People*, conjunctly, but the *Empe-*

ror, the Senate, and the People conjunctly, but the Emperor alone. The Higher Powers among the Quadi, were the Prince, The upper and lower Chambers; in the Legislature, the Power of raising Taxes, and appointing the Succession; but the Prince alone in Fighting, and Executing Laws. The Higher Powers in the Aristocracy, and in the Commonwealth, were much as they now are in Venice, and the Seven Provinces. This we learn not from the 13th Chap. to the Romans, but from the Histories of their several Constitutions. The 13th Chap. to the Rom. tell us, that the Powers that be, are ordained of God; therefore it tells us, that Arbitrary Monarchy, that Limited Monarchy, that Aristocracy, and a Commonwealth, are ordained of God; that they are each of them, alike the Ordinance of God. And the same Chapter says, that they who resist the Ordinance of God, shall receive to themselves Damnation.—Therefore it says, that whosoever resisteth in an Arbitrary, or a Limited Monarchy, in an Aristocracy, or in a Commonwealth, shall receive to himself Damnation, i. e. It says in short, that a Man may be a Rebel in or against any Sort or Speices of Government; and that a Rebel, without Repentance, shall be damned. But does it tell us what Rebellion is? Or what sort of Resistance it is, that makes a Man a Rebel? This innocent Chapter, to my thinking, says nothing of the Matter — It leaves us to learn from the Laws and Constitutions of each Government, what Obedience is required at the Subjects Hands: What it is to be a Rebel, and what Resistance is adjudged Rebellion. And since it leaves each Kingdom to be governed by its own Laws, (as is above shewn) and to change those Laws, as it sees convenient, it follows manifestly, that such or such an Act of Resistance, may be Rebellion in one Country, and not in another; and (in the same Country) at one time, and at another time (when the Law is changed) it may be no Rebellion; and that which once was damnable, may now be innocent and justifiable. We may therefore learn from the 13th Chap. to the Romans, that Rebellion is at all times damnable; but we cannot learn from thence, what is Rebellion. That the Laws

of the Land must teach us: The Chapter forbids *Resistance*, but, truly the *Laws* must tell us what *Resistance* is, and in what Case it is *forbidden*.

VI. The 13th Chap. to the Romans commands *Submission to the Higher Powers*. The Laws of the Empire may say, that this Submission (with respect to the Roman Emperor) must be *Submission without Reserve*: The Chapter therefore may say, that the Submission of the Roman Subjects, was *Submission without Reserve*. But does the 13th Chap. to the Romans say the same thing to the Subjects of the *Quadian Monarchy*, with respect to their King? When the Laws of their Government tell them, that their King is not a Roman Emperor, nor has the sole *Legislative Power* lodged in his Hands, nor can raise a Penny of Money, without both Chambers; Does this Chapter tell the People, that they must submit *without Reserve*, to what Laws the Prince shall think fit to make of his own Head? And must pay whatever Taxes shall be laid upon them by him, *without Consent of both Chambers*? Does the Chapter bind them, where the Laws have freed them? If not, 'tis manifest, the Laws of the Land are to instruct us, what Submission is required from the Subject to the Prince, and in what Cases it ought not either to be *ask'd* or *paid*. The Higher Powers in the *Aristocracy of Venice*, are the Duke, and the Senators: The 13th Chap. to the Romans bids the Subjects of that State submit themselves to the Duke and Senators. But does that Chapter bid them pay the same Submission to the *seperate Orders of the Duke*, as to the *Decrees of the Senators* conven'd with him in the *Great Council*, if so be that the Laws of that State forbid the Subjects to pay Obedience to such separate Orders of the Duke, unless confirm'd by the Decrees of the Senate, in due Form? Will any Man say, the 13th Chap. to the Rom. commands the Subjects to pay such Acts of Obedience, as the Laws of that State discharge them from paying, and require them not to pay? The Duke is to be obeyed, where the Laws say he is to be obeyed, and not otherwise. And if a Man should say, S. Paul required the contrary, they would stop his

Mouth with *St. Mark*; They would put him into a *Sack*, and throw him into the *Adriatick Gulph*.

VII. It is not therefore to be endured, that the *13th Chap to the Rom.* should be so slander'd, as it has of late been: Since it only requires such Obedience and Submission, as the Laws of every Government require at the Subjects Hands, neither *more* nor *less*; for if it required either *more* or *less*, it would alter and unsettle Governments; it would change the Power of the Rulers, and the Liberties of the People; it would make the one more or less *absolute*, the other more or less *free*, and quite subvert *Establishments*, and turn the whole World upside downwards: The contrary to all which has been shewn above, and in its way demonstrated.

VIII. I do not therefore intreat you, Not to be Slaves your selves; nor intreat you, not to court Oppression, Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power; nor intreat you, not to abuse your Fellow Subjects for maintaining the Liberties and Privileges which the *Laws* of their Country have allowed them; I do not now so much intreat you in these Matters, as I intreat you, not to abuse the *Word of God*; nor to traduce *S. Paul*; nor to speak evil of the *Christian Doctrine*; as tho' these did not only barely favour, but encourage, and command, the Slavery of the Subject, and the Prince's Arbitrary Power, if he should please to assume it. Let the *Scriptures* alone, and make not *them* subservient to the base and villanous Designs of wicked Men, that would enthral their Country. If they in whose Hands the *Legislative Power* is lodged, shall now, or hereafter, give up the Liberties and Privileges we now enjoy as *Englishmen*, it will be time enough then to submit to our accursed Fortune. That is a Power, we know not how to disallow, or disobey. There, we shall see and feel the Weight of *St. Paul's* Authority, pressing Submission to the Lawful Powers, and calling for Obedience to the Rulers, that are set over us. *Resistance* in that Case, shall be accounted damnable. Let the *Laws* of our Country first bind our Hands, and then *S. Paul* will bind those Hands upon our Consciences. But do not wrong that Saint,

by saying that *he* hath made us Slaves, before the *Laws of our Country* have made us so. In this, I intreat you to spare the *12th Chap. to the Romans*.

IX. But, it may be, you will say, *the 12th Chap. to the Romans*, presses Submission on the Christians, to a Prince that was the very worst of Men, a Monster of all Tyranny and Cruelty: And therefore that it is not now perverted or abused, when brought to enforce Submission to the like Commands of other Princes. To this I answer, that it is not to be proved, with any Certainty, in whose Reign, or at what time, *the Epistle to the Rom.* was written. But let the *Passive Doctors* take it for granted, that it was written when Nero reigned; and (if they like it the better for that) just when he caused the City of *Rome* to be set on Fire, and strung his Harp on that occasion: Or when he gave his Orders out to have his *Mother* kill'd; or in what Fit of Enormous Wickedness they please to place him. What, I would know, is all this, to the other Parts of the World, who were govern'd by milder Princes, and liv'd under Laws both Just and Merciful? Where it was not allow'd to the Prince to Govern by his own Will and Pleasure, but by known and settled Rules of Wisdom and Equity. Were the Subjects of these *Other States and Kingdoms* obliged, immediately upon the Writing this *Epistle to the Rom.* to conform themselves to the Example of the Subjects of the Empire, and pay their Princes the same Obedience and Submission, that were paid to *Nero*? If not, what signifies it who was then Emperor; or whether He were good or bad? And would it not be a sort of Blasphemy against the Christian Doctrine, to say the Subjects of other States and Kingdoms were *Free* by the *Laws of their Country*, but by their *Conversion* to Christianity, became immediately *Slaves* to the Will and Pleasure of their several Princes, in the same Measure and Degree, that the People of *Rome* were Slaves to *Nero*? When I intend to renounce Christianity, I may say this thing of it, but not before. But if these States and Kingdoms were not oblig'd (by their becoming Christian, and receiving *the Epistle to the Romans*) to do so.

conform their several Governments to that of *Rome*, to become themselves Slaves, and to make their Princes absolute as *Nero* was ; Why then is *the 13th Chap. to the Romans* urged to make those People Slaves, after the Example of the *Romans*, whose Government was never like the *Roman Government* ? Why may we not as well hold fast our Legal Liberties, after the Example of those *other Kingdoms*, who continued to be Free, notwithstanding their becoming *Christians*, and receiving the *Epistle to the Romans* for the Inspired Word of God ? How should it enter into any serious Man's Belief, that, because the *Romans* were to submit themselves to *Nero*, who was an *Arbitrary Prince*, in Instances of great Tyranny and Cruelty ; therefore the *Quadi* must submit themselves to *Cotylas* their Prince, in the like Instances of Tyranny and Cruelty ; altho' by the Laws of that Kingdom, *Cotylas* was not an *Arbitrary Prince*, but bound by his Oath, to govern by known Laws, which expressly said, *The People were not to be treated in such a manner* ? Suppose *St. Paul* had lived about 30 years ago, and had taken occasion to write to the *Christians* at *Constantinople*, living under the *Turkish Emperor* ; and should have thought fit to have said, in express Words, *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers ; for there is no Power but of God, the Powers that be, are ordained of God ; and He that resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God ; and they who resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation, &c.* Had it been reasonable for any *Clergyman* to have argued from hence, that the Subjects of *Great Britain*, *Venice*, and *Holland*, must have paid the same Obedience in all Regards, to the *King*, the *Duke*, and *Prince of Orange*, which the Subjects of the *Turkish Empire* paid to the *Grand Signior* ? There is hardly a Man living but sees the Absurdity of such a Consequence ; and yet, we have Men of all Orders and Degrees among us, that do every day, with great Gravity, make the same Conclusion, from the Subjection of the *Romans* to their Emperor ; and infer, that the rest of the World are obliged to pay the same to their Respective Princes ; and grow very angry, if we yield not quickly

at all Times, the *same* and must have the *same* Submission paid to it, that is paid to the *Turkish* Emperor now, and was heretofore paid to the *Roman* One. But we must first know certainly *where* the Supreme Power is lodged; and that, I am sure, we shall never know from the *13th Chap. to the Romans*, which mentions not a word of *England*, *Venice*, or the *Seven Provinces*. For that I have said, we must have Recourse to the *Laws* and *Constitutions* of those several Countries.

X. Let me then intreat you once more, not to lay so heavy a Load upon *this Chapter*, or any other Piece of Scripture. What need is there of charging God with all the Miseries and Misfortunes that afflict Mankind, under a State of Slavery, by making them the Effects of his Commands; which must not be withstood, altho' the Laws say otherwise, or leave Men, at least, at Liberty? Have Princes any need of being courted to become the Tyrants and Oppressors of their People? Is not the *Exorbitance of Power*, the Prize they are many times aiming at, and contending for, and the thing that seems to please them more, than the true Lustre of the Crown, which they constantly wear with Innocence and Justice? What if it is not so with *Us* at present? Who can answer for Futurity? If a *Good Prince* be complimented with more Power than belongs to him by the Constitution, who shall be able to withhold it from a *Bad One*? And if you tell a good Prince, *He has it from God*, a Bad One will tell himself as much, and become his own Flatterer. Look round the Neighbouring World, and think what *France* is now, what *Spain*, what *Germany*, what *Italy*, what *Swedeland*, and what *Denmark* is: and remember they were once as *Free* as you are now, and thought themselves as little likely to put on the Chains they now groan under. The *Clergy* I must own, had but too great a share, in bringing on those bad Changes; there was no doing such great Things without them; they forwarded the cruel and ambitious Aims of *Princes*; the Villanous Designs of Wicked *Counsellors*; and the base Treachery of their *Fellow Subjects*, and help'd to offer up the Liberties of

their Country, to the *Will and Pleasure* of their Kings. Only *the 13th Chap. to the Romans* had no hand in these bad Busineses: The Explanation of that Chapter to *these Purposes*, is, it should seem, *peculiar to the Church of England*. Excuse me, Brethren, if I am somewhat Zealous to remove this *Scandal*; I ever did, and ever shall account it a Reproach to have it said, that the *Churchmen* here, are *Enemies of Liberty*, and *Favourers of Arbitrary Power*: and, inconsiderable as I am, I always took the Liberty to say, *We* loved our Nation as well as the *Dissenters* did. But yet I cannot help excepting at least a *Dozen* that are not content to be reckoned of the Church, but call themselves *the Church of England*, who by their Principles are Slaves themselves, and (which is worse) would have all others to be so.

XI. I have now done with the *13th Chap. to the Romans*, and have shewed you, that it requires of no People, any more *Submission* to the Higher Powers, than *the Laws of their several Countries* requires: That it exacts no other Obedience than the *Laws* exact: That it forbids no other Resistance, than the *Laws* of that Country forbid: And that it *Damns* no Man, for making such *Resistance* as the *Laws* of his Country allow him to make, be it more or less. And after all this, I have the Presumption to say, that there is not a better Subject in all the *Queen's Dominions*, than I am: I tell my People that She is *the Lord's anointed*; that She possesses the Throne, as well by *the Act of Settlement*, as by *an Hereditary Right*, as being the Daughter of *King James*; the Title and the Hopes of the Pretender (be they what they will) having been extinguished by an *Act of Parliament*; so that no Body can, or ought to come between the Crown and Her. I shew them moreover, that to preserve the *Protestant Religion* (which would be utterly subverted, should any *Papist* come to reign over us) an *Act of Parliament* has quite cut off the *Hereditary Right* of more than *Twenty* several People, (all of them *Papists*) to settle the Crown upon *the House of Hannover*, and given to them (as long as they continue *Protestants*) an *Hereditary Right* also. I tell the People also, that Govern-

ment is *the Ordinance of God*, so beneficial to the World, that, without it, they could not live in Peace, nor have any Property, nor enjoy any good thing of this Life; nor call either House or Land, or Meat or Drink, or Cloathing *their own*; but that every thing would be taken from them, by such as were cunninger, or stronger than they: And that they cannot love or thank God sufficiently for such a Blessing, as secures all others to them; and this convinces them how reasonable it is, to pay *Taxes and Assessments*, to enable the Government to protect them from Violence and Injustice, and Fraud at home, and from their Enemies abroad. I take this Course to make them in Love with Government, which I assure them, was *ordained of God* purely and only *for the People's Good*; and there is not a Man in the *Parish* but believes it, because it is so much for his Interest; and *it is not truer that God is in Heaven*. I never dress up *Cæsar* like a *Hangman* a *Ravisher*, and a *Publick Robber*, and then tell them, *He is God's Vicegerent*, and is not to be resisted; but I shew them the difference betwixt an *Arbitrary Prince*, and one that governs *by Law*, and tell them how happy the People of *England* are, above what the *Romans* heretofore were, and most other of the Nations of the World now are; whose *Rights and Properties* are as much secured by *Law*, as the *Prerogative* of the Crown is: That they are subject to no *Will and Pleasure* of a single Person, but to known *Laws* made in part by *Representatives* of their own chusing; and that they are not to pay a *Penny of Money*, but what the *Parliament* lays upon them publicly. This makes them value their *Constitution*, and resolve to maintain it; which I also tell them they are as much obliged to do, as to defend *the Rights and Person* of their *Sovereign*. As to the *Doctrines of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance*, I seldom meddle with them, because they always suppose some very hard Proceedings of the *Crown*, some notorious Infringement of the *Liberties of the People*, or violent Invasion of their *Right and Property*; there can be no pretence for *Passive Obedience*, but where the *Commands* are unlawful,

unreasonably Hard and Cruel, and so insupportable; that they cannot be *actively obeyed*, and complied withal; which is an *Odious Case* to put to the People, against their Prince. And so is the Business of *Non-Resistance*; there is no speaking to it, without supposing things are come to that Extremity, that the Subject cannot have his Remedy, or Security, in *Concealment*, by *Flight*, by *Petition*, nor by *Course of Law*; it necessarily supposes a forcible *Invasion* on the Prince's Side, which the Subject is not (it seems) to resist. These, I say, are very hard and odious Cases, for Preachers to put against their Princes, tho' the Conclusion always is in Favour of the Prince. And indeed I have seldom heard these Causes managed in the *Pulpit*, with that Success that should encourage one to do the like. The Prince has generally lost more Ground in the *Affections* of the Audience, than he has gain'd on their *Reason* and *Understanding*. Nay, where the People have gone away convinced that they must not resist, yet were they full of *Wrath* and *Indignation*, to think they must endure so tamely, such insupportable Oppressions, as the Preacher had supposed, and, in his Passive Scheme, had laid down. For these and other Reasons I seldom touch upon these Doctrines in the *Pulpit*, and really think I do my Prince more Service by my Silence, than if I should urge them in the common Manner. But whenever I am ask'd my Opinion of these Matters out of the Church, I never am ashamed to tell them what it is; it is what I have set down at the Beginning of this *XIth Section*. I say with King Charles the 1st, that the *Law is the Measure of the King's Power*. And I say with the present Abp. of Y---, that the *Law is the Measure of the Subjects Submission*. And I think I may say of my self, from both of them, that a *Subject is not obliged by Law to submit to the Command of his Prince that is directly against the Law*. And this I think will say it self, whether I say it or no. But I add moreover, that in some Cases where the Law leaves me at Liberty (to avoid all Scandal and Offence) I may be obliged to obey a Command that brings not an intolerable

rable Mischief on me: To disobey in *light Cases* would
 shew too great a slight of Power, and a disrespect to
 the Person of the *Governor*, which ought most care-
 fully to be considered, and avoided if it can. In a
 word, I never preach upon the *13th Chap. to the Romans*,
 but I endeavour to make the People understand the
Blessing of Government, to love their Prince, and pay their
Taxes readily: By which means I bring them to obey
for Conscience Sake, much rather than for *Wrath*; because
 that Government is ordained of God for the Good of
 Mankind, and Princes are appointed of him, to secure
 this End, and to see it answered by the Execution of
 good Laws; and *for this Cause we pay Tribute*. And
 thus the People see they have a very good Bargain of
 it — The Prince *sells* them Security and Protection
 from all Injustice at Home, and Enemies Abroad, for
 the *Rates and Assessments* which they agree (by their
Representatives) to pay him at such certain times. But
 for your *Axes, Halters, Fire and Sword, Death and Dam-*
nation, if they disobey; they know it as well as I, and
 pray me to spend my time better. And yet I take my
 Opportunity to let them know, that Disobedience to
 the Laws is *Damnable in the other World*, because it is
 destructive of the Peace and Security of Mankind *in*
this; which is the very *End of Government*, the very
Reason of God's Institution of it.

XII. It is high time you will think to put an End to
 this Commendation of my own Way of Preaching: I
 think so too; but I did it, to let you see that there is
other Use (and much more serviceable to the *Crown*) to
 be made of the *13th Chap. to the Romans*, than what is
 commonly made of it, by most young Preachers,
 whose Understanding is not, generally, equal to their
 Heat and Zeal; and who run away with the *Words and*
Letter of a Text, and leave the *true Sense and Meaning*
 of it behind them. Would it not vex a Man a little,
 to hear a young Divine preaching upon that Saying of
 Christ, *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and*
to God the things that are God's: To tell his People
 that from the Division of the Text, it was plain, that

whatever was not *God's*, must needs be *Cæsar's*, for no one else was concern'd ; and then to back it with that pretty Fancy , *Divisum Imperium cum Fove Cæsar habet*. This, however had done no great Harm, if he had not in the Application told us, that *All Kings* and *Queens* were the same things with *Cæsar*, and invested with the *same* Powers ; and consequently that all we had in the World, belonged to *them*, if it were not pre-engaged to *God*. By this we perceive that nothing was left to us ; the *Tytbes* were *God's*, and all the rest was *Cæsar's*. Is this to be endured in an *English* Audience, if the Ears of every Man in the Parish were not bored through ? And I would fain learn how much the Doctrine of those greater Men differs from that of this Young Curate, who tell us, that all Magistrates, as well the *Subordinate*, as *Supreme*, are so of God, so much his Ordinance and Institution, that they are not in any Case, or upon any Pretence whatever, to be resisted, not only in the Execution of the Laws (which every one allows) but even in the most outrageous Violation of the Laws ? So that a Petty Constable shall break my House open, abuse my Wife and Children, ransack my Coffers, take what Plate, Money, or Goods he pleases, provided his Staff be painted with the *Queen's Arms* ; only because these Venerable Gentlemen have stamped the *Divine Authority* upon all *Subordinate Magistrates*. I know they will wipe their Mouths, and say, they have supposed no such *Extreme Cases*. I say, we are never the more obliged to them for their Silence ; for such *Extreme Cases* will suppose themselves, and will come first into every Bodies Mind and Consideration. Say that all *Subordinate Magistrates* are the Ordinance of God, and the whole Parish will say *their Constable* is such a Magistrate. Say that Magistrates are by no means to be resisted, tho' doing never such violent illegal Acts, and what shall hinder a needy Rascal got into an Office, from attempting to do them, protected for the present, not only with the *Royal* but *Divine Authority* ? And all these Doctrines, and their dreadful Consequences are, it seems, to keep the Peo-

ple from *Rebellion*! As if it were *Rebellion* to oppose illegal Violence! As if it were a *damnable Sin* to resist a *Constable*, or (if you will) a *Justice of Peace*, committing Outrages *against the Laws*, such as deserve Imprisonment, Fine, or Death! Yet these are the easy, natural, and unavoidable Consequences of the Doctrine of these *worthy Writers*, who seem to have little Regard to the *Country* wherein they live, and little to *the Laws* that protect them from those Insults and Violences, which they invite and tempt Men to commit, by making their Persons *sacred*; for by this new Divinity, we are about to consecrate Four or Five Thousand of the *Queen's Officers* at Home, and all the *Regiments* in *English Pay* Abroad. Let these Learned Men look to it, for there is not one of the *Foot-guards*, but, if sent by his *Officer* (whose Commission runs still higher and higher) is a *Subordinate Magistrate*, and is upon that Account *irresistible*. You may be sure I say these things with great Scorn; but yet these silly wicked Consequences are not to be avoided, if you will take *these Doctors Word* for the Premises. How freely do they part with Peoples Estates and Liberties! How cheap do they make *Damnation*! To be *Damn'd*, will, in a little time, come to signify no more than to be *excommunicated* in a *Spiritual Court*, for not appearing upon Summons, or for not paying Costs of Three or Four *Shillings*! Surely, my Brethren will awake some time or other from these Dreams; altho' I know *my Voice* is much too low to reach them.

But Courage, *Countrymen*! For whilst I was writing, under great Agony of Mind, the last Period, I received in the *Gazette*, the *Address* of the *Clergy* of London and Westminster, with their *Bishop* at their Head: Who tell the *Queen*, " They acknowledge the most Illustrious House of *Hanover*, as the next Heirs in the Protestant Line, to have the only Right of ascending the Throne, and indisputable Title to our Allegiance. " We thank God (continue they) from the Bottom
" of

“ of our Hearts for the Legal Provisions in this Regard
 “ made to secure us from Popery and Arbitrary Power ;
 “ which we once, through the Divine Assistance vi-
 “ gorously and successfully withstood, when they were
 “ breaking in upon our Constitution : Nor shall we
 “ fail to manifest an equal Zeal against them , when-
 “ ever, and by what Means soever, they shall meditate
 “ a Return. From whence I do with great Satisfac-
 on observe, 1. That the *Bishop* and the *Clergy* of Lon-
 don and Westminster do openly acknowledge, to the
 Queen’s Face, that an *Act of Parliament* can transfer the
Hereditary Right of Succession from one Person to ano-
 ther, and from one House to another, and that such a
 Title is *indisputable*. The Proof of this, is, That the
House of Savoy, and other *Houses*, are set aside, in Fa-
 vour of the *House of Hanover*. This I am sure, the
Clergy of London were far enough from venturing to
 say, when the *Bill of Exclusion* was on foot ; then the
 Right of Succession was *De Jure Divino*, *indefeasible*,
unalienable, *unalterable*, and I know not what. They
 did not pretend it to be barely unreasonable, and hard,
 and inconvenient, but absolutely *unlawful* to exclude the
Duke of York. They altered their Mind, belike, when
 he was K. *James*. 2dly, They thank God heartily,
 for the Legal Provisions made to secure the People
 from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*. And so do I, to see
 this Declaration come from them, because it will help
 to acquit them of the Scandal of being *Friends to Ar-
 bitrary Power* ; and because I hope they mean what they
 say. Now I would fain know how any Men can
 thank God, that the Laws are on their Side, in this or
 that Regard, who acknowledge at the same time, that
 if those Laws should be invaded, violated , and quite
 subverted , even to the utter Misery and total Ruin of
 the People, they have no manner of Right to defend
 them, by any *forcible* Opposition whatsoever, altho’
 the Person that thus subverts those Laws, has no such
 Power committed to him ? What Security to a Sub-
 ject is a *Law* against *Arbitrary Power*, when it is for-
 (by a *Superior Law*) to put that

Law in Execution against that *Arbitrary Power*? What
 are *Privileges* worth, what are *Liberties* good for, that
 cannot be maintained and secured, by such means as
 are only proper, only able to secure them and main-
 tain them? How would it read, should such a Speech,
 have been left as this, spoken to the King of the *Quadi*
 by the *High Priest of Mars*, at the Head of his *Soda-*
lity? "We thank the Immortal Gods, *most noble Prince*,
 " that we have Laws and Statutes to secure us against
 " Arbitrary Power, that bind you by the Share you had
 " in making them, and by the Oath you took to go-
 " vern by them, neither to hurt our Persons, nor de-
 " prive us of our Liberty, nor take our Money from us,
 " but in such a manner and proportion as is settled by
 " our *Constitution*; these Laws and Liberties, the World
 " around, admire and envy to us. But yet we are
 " obliged to tell your *Subjects*, (as we often tell your
 " *Majesty*) that whenever you please to break through
 " these Restraints, to invade these Liberties, and to sub-
 " vert these *Laws*, their Hands are *tied*, they have no
 " other Remedy, but to implore your *Mercy* and For-
 " bearance, and beseech the *Heavenly Powers* to divert
 " your Purpose, and inspire you with a better Mind.
 " We tell your *Majesty*, you have no Moral Power,
 " nor yet Political, to do these cruel and destructive
 " Things; but if you will go on, the *Gods* may call you
 " to an Account hereafter: But as for *us*, and all your
 " People, we are devoted to eternal *Snakes and Furies*
 " if we lift up a Hand against you; for you are *irre-*
 " *fistible*, not only in your Sacred Person, but in all
 " your *Ministers* that act *subordinately* under you. I
 stay not to conjecture what Remarks so grave a Man
 as *Tacitus* would make on such a Speech. I only say,
 That if the Prince abstain from Violence, after this,
 he is a very good Prince, and will deserve all Thanks
 and Praise imaginable; but what Claim or Title to
 such solemn Thanks, the *Immortal Gods* should have,
 passes my Reach and Understanding; because (as I
 should think) those Gods were the very People (if
 you will pardon that bold Figure) that hindered the

good Laws from being any Security to the Subject, by imposing an after-Law, that tied his Hands from maintaining them. And if the *London Addressers*, when they come to explain themselves, should mean thus, I say, they cannot compliment their Prince too highly, for the Preservation of these Laws from Violence; but I shall be to seek, for what it is, they *thank God* so from the bottom of their Hearts. For a Hundred Laws are not worth a Chip, if he, *against whom* those Laws are expressly designed, has it in his Power to subvert and confound them when he will; because those Persons, *for whose Safety* those Laws were expressly designed, are restrain'd from opposing him with any forcible Resistance whatsoever. Had this Doctrine been true, and believed, how little had all the Laws against *Popery* signified in the Reign of K. *James*, had the Subordinate Powers at *Hounslow-Heath* stood by their Master, and joyned with him in the *Executive Part*? 3^{dly}, I am glad to observe, that the *Bishop* and *Clergy* take occasion to represent to Her Majesty, and all the World, how vigorously they *have* opposed *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, and how vigorously they will *again* oppose them, if ever they offer to return and make Head. How vigorously and successfully they opposed *Popery*, is visible and legible to all the World, to their everlasting Honour. But their vigorous Opposition to *Arbitrary Power*, in that unhappy Reign, has the Misfortune not to be so well known to the Kingdom, unless they mean the Hand they had in bringing about the *Revolution*. The *Noble Head* of these *Addressees* had indeed such a Share in that Transaction, that it never ought to be forgotten; and he opposed *Illegal Arbitrary Power*, by all the ways a brave Man, and a Lover of his Country could; but surely the Followers of him will not assume this Honour. Let them make out their Claim to this great Merit, and all Men living will be glad to own it. But till it appear, that they did heretofore vigorously oppose *Arbitrary Power* in their Prince, the Promise of doing the like, with equal Zeal *heretofore* will be fallacious, or of little Use and

Service; unless it be, to let us see, that they, who say they have opposed Arbitrary Power, and say they will *again* oppose it, must needs believe it *Lawful* for other People to do the like. But if they only mean (as I am afraid they do) by *Opposition*, the Preaching up the *Prince's Obligations* to keep his Oath, and not to exercise any Illegal Arbitrary Power, what will it signify, if, at the same time they tell their Audience, that St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* have tied their Hands, made all Laws *useless*, and all Nations *defenceless*, in case the Prince will not regard his Oaths and Obligations, but will subvert the Laws, invade the People's Rights, Estates and Lives; and in a Word, undo the Kingdom? Let them but say this plain thing — That it is not forbidden to this Nation, by any Law or Command of God, to save it self and its Posterity, from imminent and utter Ruin by *Resistance*, and we will ask no more. And if it still be asked, who shall be Judges when this Ruin is so near, that it will want *Resistance* to prevent it? I answer, Every Lord, and every Commoner in Great-Britain.

But after all, I am come back to say, That whenever the *Legislative Power* shall enact, that the *Prince's Proclamations* shall be accounted Sacred as the *Roman Edicts* were: That they shall do just what they please, and what they please shall be accounted *Legal*: That to resist them, or those whom they shall *Commission* under Hand and Seal, tho' violating the known Laws, shall be *Rebellion*: Whenever this or more shall be done by the Legislature, I freely own I shall be bound by it; and own moreover, that S. *Peter* and S. *Paul* will bind me to it. For that is the meaning of all I have been saying, That the Word of God obliges all Subjects to such Obedience, and no other, as the Laws of their Country have obliged them to: And has forbidden such *Resistance*, and no other, as the Laws of their Country have forbidden.



